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ABSTRACT

Three 1970-71 studies concerning the styles of instruction that lead to higher intellectual performance among village American Indian and Eskimo high school students are presented in this final report of observations of teachers and students in several Native boarding schools and/or integrated urban high schools in Alaska. The first study, an ethnography, describes the problems of these students and their teachers, and suggests a typology differentiating effective and ineffective teachers. This ethnography suggests that the teacher's degree of personal warmth versus professional distance, and degree of active demandingness versus passive understanding, are fundamental dimensions separating successful from unsuccessful teachers. The second study, empirically testing a major hypothesis derived from the ethnography, found that the socioemotional climate of the integrated classroom is significantly related to the verbal participation of village students, who are typically silent and withdrawn. The third study found that teacher warmth, communicated through nonverbal channels, leads to higher intellectual performance among village Indian and Eskimo students. Suggestions are made for improving the secondary school instruction of Indian and Eskimo students through teacher selection methods and training programs which take into account the importance of personal warmth and active demandingness in cross-cultural teaching success. A bibliography and copies of the teacher and student questionnaires used in the studies are included. (Author/PS)

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INSTRUCTIONAL STYLE AND THE INTELLECTUAL PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS .

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Judith Kleinfeld

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College, Alaska

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ABSTRACT

This report consists of three studies addressing the general question: What styles of instruction lead to higher intellectual performance among village Indian and Eskimo high school students? The first study, an ethnography, describes the problems of these students and their teachers in high school and suggests a typology differentiating effective and ineffective teachers. This ethnography suggests that the teacher's degree of personal warmth versus professional distance and degree of active demandingness versus passive understanding are fundamental dimensions separating successful from unsuccessful teachers. The second study, empirically testing a major hypothesis derived from the ethnography, found that the socioemotional climate of the integrated classroom is significantly related to the verbal participation of village students, who are typically silent and withdrawn. The third study, an experiment which tests another hypothesis suggested by the ethnography, found that teacher warmth, communicated through nonverbal channels, leads to higher intellectual performance among village Indian and Eskimo students. Suggestions are made for improving the secondary school instruction of Indian and Eskimo students through teacher selection methods and training programs which take into account the importance of personal warmth and active demandingness in cross-cultural teaching success.

INTRODUCTION

The ethnocentric teacher of Indian students who quotes chapter and verse of the Cultural Deprivation Ideology to rationalize his own teaching failures and who strives to destroy his students' Indian identity in order to propel them into the American mainstream is a prominant villain in the Indian education literature. While the characteristics of such ineffective teachers are well-known, very little information is available about the characteristics of those who succeed in cross-cultural teaching. What are the instructional styles which lead to positive cross-cultural relationships and to higher intellectual performance among Indian and Eskimo students?

The national trend of enrolling Indian students in integrated public schools rather than all-Native Bureau of Indian Affairs schools raises another critical question concerning effective teaching styles. Do urban white and black students respond differently to particular teaching styles than village Indian and Eskimo students? Clearly, if different teaching strategies are optimal for different cultural groups, the social implications for integrated schooling could be disturbing.

This report consists of three studies related to the general question of the instructional styles that increase the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo high school students. Since little information on effective teachers of Indian students, especially in an integrated classroom where the diverse student group presents especially difficult problems, was available from the educational literature, the first study consisted of an ethnography designed to describe the problems of both village students and their teachers in high school and to suggest a typology defining characteristics of effective and ineffective teachers. This ethnography suggested that the teacher's degree of personal warmth versus professional distance and his degree of active demandingness versus passive understanding are fundamental dimensions separating successful and unsuccessful teachers. The ethnographic approach has been the research method most commonly used in studies of Indian classrooms, and it has considerable value in providing rich, descriptive understanding. Since the ethnographic approach is, of course, limited by the subjectivity of the particular observer, it is important to proceed from ethnography to statistical studies and controlled experiments. While such studies cannot examine every hypothesis suggested by an ethnography, they can be used to test the key notions which the ethnography suggests.

Therefore, the second study of this project concerned a major proposition derived from the ethnography, that the interpersonal climate of an integrated classroom strongly influenced the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students. The specific hypothesis tested was that the degree of verbal participation of Indian and Eskimo students who are typically silent in the threatening integrated classroom, is significantly related to

the classroom's socioemotional climate. This hypothesis was sustained. While this study had the advantage of measuring variables which closely correspond to actual behavior of interest in the classroom, such a correlational approach could not, of course, demonstrate a causal relationship between warmth and intellectual performance.

The third study, therefore, consisted of an experiment where teacher warmth could be manipulated. Teacher warmth was defined by nonverbal communicative behavior which the ethnography had suggested was critical in establishing a positive interpersonal climate for Indian and Eskimo students -- frequent smiling, very close body distance, and a postural stance where the teacher was seated with the student as opposed to standing opposite him. In this experiment, the hypothesis that nonverbally communicated warmth leads to higher intelligence test performance among Indian and Eskimo students was sustained.

These studies may be useful in improving the criteria used to select teachers of Indian and Eskimo students, and better teacher selection is probably the most effective way to improve instruction. Some types of teachers who volunteer to instruct Indian and Eskimo students and who are especially likely to impress administrators favorably, this research suggests, may do great damage despite or indeed precisely because of their sympathy for the students and their intellectual interests in Indian and Eskimo culture. These studies may also be useful in suggesting specific instructional behaviors which teachers might use to increase their effectiveness. Basic personality dimensions such as personal warmth, however, are difficult to modify, and the value of training programs, especially at the inservice level, should not be overestimated. Training programs can be important, however, in legitimizing instructional behaviors such as active demandingness and in encouraging teachers to arrange classroom situations which facilitate personalized relationships.

STUDY I:

INSTRUCTIONAL STYLES OF EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Ethnographic studies in Indian education have generally focused on the broad cultural conflicts, personified in the normative instructional style of white teachers and in the normative classroom behavior of Indian and Eskimo students, which lead to a learning deadlock in the classroom. In their classic study of formal education among the Sioux, Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1964) view the classroom as the focal point of the social distance and value conflicts between the Indian community and white society. Teachers disparaged their students' culture and potentialities and viewed their instructional mission as reforming students by imparting the values and manners of white society, viewed as absolute moral goods. Sioux adolescents retaliated by creating a "silent classroom," where the Indian peer group expressed passive resistance by refusing verbal participation in class work.

Wax et al. (1964) point out that such silent classrooms did not occur with a few rare teachers. However, their description of these effective teachers is unfortunately brief:

> ... there are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. These teachers are difficult to describe because they are remarkably different in background and personality and some are "real characters" in the sense that this word was used fifty years ago. In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils. By this, we mean that they treat them as if something of respect was already there ... These teachers are strict disciplinarians and do not tolerate nonsense ... all are very fair and all are extremely skillful in avoiding a situation which would embarass a shy student before the class. They tend to place a heavy emphasis on scholastic work and often behave as if such matters as pupils' neatness in dress and eating habits, or how pupils spend their money, do not fall within their province (p. 75).

While Wax et al.(1964) emphasize the importance of such characteristics as teachers' respect for the student, their research does not concern the ways these general attitudes are expressed in teaching behaviors. Since Indians and Eskimos may hold beliefs about appropriate interpersonal behavior very different from those of whites (Wax and Thomas, 1961), such specificity is essential. In addition, Indian students' extreme interpersonal sensitivity makes it very difficult for a teacher armed only with general directives to behave appropriately (Wax and Wax, 1969).

In a study of Cherokee classrooms, Dumont (1969) attempts to define three classes of effective and ineffective teachers. Teachers in the first group are nice to students but have given up attempting to teach them. These teachers resort to busy work or let the class carry on without them. Teachers in the second group place high value on learning but have no understanding of cultural differences and the appropriate ways of interacting with students. Their instruction leads to student apathy, and these teachers react with hostility. The third group of teachers work within the framework of cultural differences, and, with the help of students who act as mediators between the teacher and the Indian peer society, create an "intercultural classroom." The hallmark of such a classroom is verbal dialogue between the teacher and student in contrast to the normative silent resistance. In the intercultural classroom students "will do such remarkable things as engage in lengthy conversations with the teacher about academic subjects" (Dumont and Wax, 1969, p. 223).

The characteristics of these effective teachers and how they go about creating such an intercultural classroom are not made clear. Dumont's classroom observations as well as other materials suggest that the teacher's interpersonal style may be crucial to Indian students' response to the learning task. Among Indians and Eskimos, social harmony is a value which takes precedence over task achievement, and the interpersonal dimension of a situation is not considered distinct from the task dimension (Albert, 1956; Briggs, 1970). A task "cannot be separated from the relationship of the individuals performing it (Wax et al., p. 172)." In a series of interviews with Cherokee parents and their students, Wax et al. (1969) found that the Cherokee used the word "love" to describe the relationship desired between the teacher and student. Apparently uncomfortable by the intensity of the emotion suggested by this concept, Wax et al. (1969) attribute the Cherokee's "peculiar usage of the English word 'love'" to their limited knowledge of English and redefine the term as indicating a teacher-student relationship of "respect, trust, gentleness, and courteous sensibility (p. 81)." The present study raises the possibility that the Cherokee may have meant precisely what they said. The intense personal warmth which seems to lead to effective teaching of village Indian and Eskimo students may be viewed by western professionals as inappropriate.

In a study of Eskimo education, Collier (1970) also suggests the importance of emotional closeness both between teacher and student and within the student group and points out the ways teachers use nonverbal behaviors to communicate these feelings. Contrasting an animated Head Start class taught by two Eskimo women with a silent pre-first grade class taught by a white male, Collier (1970) noted substantial differences in the teachers' pattern of nonverbal communication, the ways they used space and touch. The white teacher created a classroom atmosphere of emotional distance by standing at a wide physical distance from the Eskimo students and by spacing students apart in rows. The Eskimo teachers, in contrast, communicated emotional closeness through close physical distance and body to body affection. Their classroom was a rhythmically harmonious group where everyone was touching and caressing everyone else. Thcse white teachers who were able to employ a nonverbal communication style similar to that of the Eskimo teachers had students who responded with interest rather than apathy.

> Mr. Scout moves from individual to individual, from group to group. He leans over, sits down, touches, corrects and moves on. Students run to <u>him</u> with papers ... The teacher appears very relaxed, and talks slowly <u>to</u> students. There are no signs of boredom, no yawning. Everyone is busy ... (Collier, 1970, p. 79).

It appeared to be the teacher's style, not simply whether or not he was an Eskimo, that was critical to teaching success. While an Eskimo teacher who had completed professional university training showed little rapport with students, white Special Education teachers, whose interests and training led them to respond to students in a highly personalized manner, tended to be highly effective.[1]

The ethnographic literature, in sum, suggests that, for Indian and Eskimo students, the type of interpersonal relationship the teacher establishes with the student is critical to his effectiveness. Middle class white teachers, reflecting the dominant achievement orientation of their culture, tend to focus on academic tasks and attempt to compartmentalize the task and the interpersonal aspects of the situation so that personal feelings will not interfere with the primary mission of task accomplishment.

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[1] Barnhardt (1971) observes that Native teachers who have received field training in the Teacher Corps relate to their students much more personally and informally than Native teachers who have completed the standard university course.

Indians and Eskimos, in contrast, reflecting the primary emphasis placed on interpersonal harmony in their culture, tend not to separate academic work from their personal relationship to the teacher and to other students. Harmonious classroom relationships appear to be a necessary condition for learning.

While the ethnographic literature contains abundant examples of destructive teacher attitudes and practices, descriptions of how a teacher creates a positive interpersonal climate in a cross-cultural teaching situation are scarce. Wax and Wax (1969) point out the importance of the teacher's respect for students. Collier (1970) suggests the importance of the teacher's nonverbal communication style in creating emotional closeness. More extensive descriptions of how teachers establish an interpersonal relationship conducive to learning with Indian and Eskimo students and studies testing suggested hypotheses are greatly needed. The acute sensitivities of Indian students and the differences in interpersonal norms of whites and Indian and Eskimo groups can cause well-meaning, intelligent teachers to blunder.

METHOD

Teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students were observed in two all-Native boarding schools and in five integrated urban high schools during the 1970-71 school year. Interviews were conducted with teachers and with Indian, Eskimo and white students about school problems and effective teaching methods. Attention focused primarily on teachers of ninth grade Indian and Eskimo students, since these students are first experiencing the transition from a small village school to a large secondary school and problems at this stage are most severe. Several ninth grade teachers, who represented different teaching styles, were videotaped to permit more intensive analysis of their classroom behavior. In addition, workshops on cross-cultural teaching methods were held at each of the schools which led to a general exchange of ideas about cross-cultural teaching problems and methods.

Since the purpose of this study was to describe effective and ineffective teaching styles, it is necessary to make clear the particular criteria of teaching effectiveness used in assessing different teachers. Studies of teaching effectiveness have generally used three types of criterion measures (Cogan, 1958). One is the opinion of experts such as teacher supervisors. A second is pupil growth measured by such indicators of change as achievement tests. A third is an intermediate criterion thought to be related to pupil growth such as classroom attentiveness or amount of academic work performed. Expert opinion is generally acknowledged to be an unsatisfactory measure since such opinions tend to be unreliable. An expert's opinion of a teacher also may depend substantially on the particular educational theories the expert happens to hold. While pupil growth as measured by achievement test gains seems superficially to be

the most valid criterion of teaching effectiveness, it is difficult to use. At the secondary level where each subject is taught by a different teacher, it is difficult to compare student gains across subject areas. Also, different teachers may have different objectives within a particular subject.

For these reasons, this study used informally as an indicator of teacher effectiveness an intermediate criterion of pupil growth which seemed especially appropriate for Indian and Eskimo students -- the intellectual level of students' verbal participation in the academic work of the classroom. First, did Indian and Eskimo students verbally participate in the academic work at all? Second, what was the cognitive level of their verbal communications, as evaluated by such a system as Bloom's (1956) taxonomy in the cognitive domain? Did the student only repeat scattered facts, for example, or did he demonstrate higher level skills such as the ability to apply principles to new situations?

Verbal participation itself was chosen as one criterion of teacher effectiveness for Indian and Eskimo students because both the Indian education literature and exploratory teacher interviews suggested that Indians and Eskimos tend to respond to a stressful situation, such as a negative classroom situation, by withdrawing into silence. Such classroom silence can also be used as a strategy of passive aggression against the teacher. Verbal participation has been used, although not explicitly, as a criterion of effective teaching in other ethnographies of Indian classrooms (Wax et al., 1964; Dumont and Wax, 1969). Moreover, teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students often informally use whether the student talks in class as an indicator of how well they themselves are teaching.

Not only whether the student participated in class but also the cognitive level of his participation was considered in evaluating teachers. This second criterion was used to distinguish classrooms where the student felt comfortable enough to speak but was learning little from classrooms where verbal participation was used as an instrument of learning. However, the difference between the classrooms where the Indian and Eskimo students actively participated in the lesson were usually of such magnitude that considering the intellectual level of the students' verbal participation was not necessary to differentiate effective and ineffective teachers of Indian and Eskimo students. This second criterion was useful, however, in evaluating the teacher's effectiveness with the other urban students, who were not usually verbally reticent.

RESULTS

Indian and Eskimo Village Students in High School

Indian and Eskimo students catapulted from small village schools into large high schools experience severe stress from the school's physical size and arrangements, a social environment which is perceived as hostile, and from the difficulty of academic work,which also receives an interpretation of interpersonal hostility. These stresses are more severe in urban, integrated schools, and many of these schools have established special all-Native orientation classes for freshman students. However, similar problems occur in reduced degree at all-Native boarding schools.

The physical environment of the high school -- its massive size, labyrinth of corridors, lockers, and battlefield din -- frequently unnerves students accustomed to a one or two room school and a village itself smaller than the student body. To find an Indian or Eskimo young man crying in the halls or vomiting in the restroom because he cannot find his next class is an unusual but not exceptional occurrence. Since Indians and Eskimos are socialized into a stringent ethic of masking feelings of discomfort (Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Briggs, 1970), such breakdowns evidence the extreme stress village students undergo.

While students adapt reasonably soon to these physical stresses, the social environment of the secondary school creates subtle and enduring problems. The interaction of the actual social conditions of the secondary school with the emotional structure of the village student leads students to perceive the school as interpersonally hostile. It is important to recognize that it is this interaction of environmental conditions with the student's socialization and not either the school or the student alone that is responsible for the severity of the problems that occur.

Village students are accustomed to the personalized relationships characteristic of a small community where everyone knows everyone else as total personalities in both task and social situations. As one student explained:

> Probably we are shy and timid cause most of us has been born in small villages where everyone knows everyone. And everyone knows who's doing this and that, also everything that is going on. And we went to school in a one room class. And here it's very different.

Students are not familiar with impersonal social arrangements where anonymity and fragmented task relationships are the norm. Interpreting interpersonal relationships in the school from the framework of a personalized social structure, village students often misinterpret the meaning of the social

interactions. For example, Indian and Eskimo village students view themselves as strangers in a new school community and expect urban students to make positive friendly overtures toward them if they indeed have friendly feelings. Urban students, accustomed to the anonymity of a large school where there are many students they do not know, generally make little special effort to get to know village students. Village students may interpret this behavior as active rejection, as it would be if they treated a white person entering the village in this fashion. When village students become accustomed to the impersonal norms of the school, generally in their second year, it is common for them to remark that they initially misunderstood their classmates' attitudes and perceived them as prejudiced and unfriendly when most of them were not. Even where the large school's impersonality is not interpreted as active hostility, village students feel uncomfortable in impersonal situations that urban students accept as a matter of course. For example, students report that they feel uneasy when they are not personally acquainted with the driver of the school bus or do not know the name of each student in a class.

Village students tend to expect highly personalized relationships not only with their classmates but also with their teachers. Thus, village students generally desire teachers to be friends in the full sense of the term while teachers generally desire village students to be only students. The yearning of students to become personal friends with their teachers and to resolve academic problems in a social, not task-oriented situation, is strikingly apparent in the following student's analysis of his difficulties in the classroom and the way they could be solved:

> The thing we lack most is friends. We gotta find a way to get more friends. That how I think about everything. Why don't the teachers here, you guys, and we Native students have a party somewhere and become friends (which we lack most) and also settle everything comfortably.

In addition to growing up in the personalized world of a small village, Indian and Eskimo students are socialized to regard the world outside of the immediate family and peer group as hostile and vaguely malevolent (Briggs, 1970; Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Hippler, 1971). With traditionally sharp controls on in-group aggression, hostile feelings tend to be projected onto dangerous external agents such as spirits, monsters, or, more recently, white people. Village parents, for example, may induce obedience in children by warning them that a white stranger will get them if they don't behave. Socialization through the process of inducing fear of external agents creates in village students a pervasive fear of strangers, especially white people. Students' expectancies of danger tend to be confirmed by their interpretation of the impersonality of the school and by the actual prejudice

and hostility of some students and teachers. The terror of simply sitting in a class surrounded by strangers can paralyze village students and prevent them from learning. As one boy wrote:

> Last year when I was in the 8th grade, I was making fairly good grades, and this year when I was admitted to high school I started to make low grades like D's, because I cannot work with white people, watching, sitting, and talking all around me, and it is very hard for me to study around those people I don't know.

This fear of strangers is a major cause of such academic problems as the village student's typical refusal to speak in class. Students sometimes maintain an almost catatonic silence in class in fear that white students will humiliate them for errors. Yet, the village student feels he cannot escape this malevolence. If he does speak, white strangers may laugh at him. If he does not speak, white strangers will dismiss him as a "dumb Native." As one girl wrote:

> The reason I am writing this letter is because I hope you can help. I don't feel very open when I am working with white students. Even though I really like to speak up and answer some questions you or some other teachers ask I am always afraid to because I always be afraid that if I give the wrong answer or talk funny they will make fun of me. I think it would be of a great help to most of us Natives if we could be separated from the white student so we can be more opened to speak up and not be made fun of. I know we just can't go on in school like this. We really have to move. Sometimes I think that most of the white students always think that I am dumb just because I don't answer questions.

The actual prejudice and hostility of some teachers and students in the school tend to reinforce village students' fears. White students may mock the "funny noises" made by Indian and Eskimo students, especially when they speak their own language. Some deride villagers by such pejoratives as salmon "crunchers." Some imitate the village student's walk when he is called out of class for special counseling or medical treatment. Such hostility nourishes village students' estrangement in the school:

> An Eskimo young man, carrying a brief case symbolizing his split identity by pictures of western school culture drawn on one side and pictures of Eskimo culture

drawn on the other, walked up to his best friend in Speech Class and said, "You stink." The other young man retorted, "Who said?" "I heard it about me," he admitted, moodily taking his seat. Ignoring the lesson, he proceeded to read a magazine and to label all the western pictures with Eskimo words.

Common school practices such as placing village students in classes with urban students of similar achievement levels aggravates the problem of white hostility since these low socioeconomic status, frustrated urban students are more likely to hold prejudiced attitudes and displace their aggression on the convenient and safe target of the village student. The special treatment which many village students publicly receive from well-meaning school personnel also aggravates urban students' resentments. There is some justice to their feelings that the village students "get away with everything. If I got busted, I would go to jail. They would get away with it."

In addition to the stresses related to the school's physical and social environment, the difficulty of the academic work threatens village students' precarious self-esteem. Village students find it difficult to follow the fast paced conversational English of the classroom and may not know the meaning of such idioms as "hit the books." Almost invariably, they complain that the teacher "talks too fast and uses too many big words." Paradoxically, it is those students who are academically capable who are most vulnerable to the threat of failure. Such students have established an image of themselves as academically excellent in the village school and may plummet to the bottom of the class in the urban school.

Since they do not differentiate sharply between the task and social aspects of a situation, village students may interpret these academic difficulties in interpersonal terms. For example, the teacher's use of big words may be viewed as a sign of the teacher's superior attitudes and hostile feelings. Since the teacher must realize that they can't understand the words and yet go on using them, village students reason, obviously the teachers either don't care about them or don't like them. As one student wrote in an essay evaluating teacher interns who were trying very earnestly to teach well in a cross-cultural situation:

Why I hate College Teachers

Because they don't teach as good as older teachers. They try to be tough on you, and try to make you think they are smart by using big words even they know we don't understand them they go on. I've noticed the one in the Study Hall wears glasses,

she unconsciously plays with them and she puts
them on they slide down to the end of her nose.
And the one down in art class wears round ones.
Maybe they want to look smart.

Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students' response to the stresses of secondary school follows the pattern of mute withdrawal reported for other Indian groups (Cameron, 1969; Parmee, 1969; Wax et al., 1969; Poston, 1967; Osborn, 1967). Enclosing themselves in a protective shield of silence, entering students may sit in the classroom but refuse to meet the teacher's eyes, answer a question, or ask for needed help. In the urban, integrated school, where the stress is greatest, village students tend to huddle together at the far back corner of the room, a position symbolizing their psychological withdrawal from classroom life. Since many students have severe hearing loss from otitis media and vision problems which are only gradually noticed and corrected, their retirement to the back of the room virtually guarantees that they cannot understand the lesson. In especially stressful classes such as speech, where the village student is expected to give a formal talk before the critical eyes of the white students, village students may withdraw physically by hiding in the restrooms. In some cases, students withdraw from the total situation by refusing to attend school at all.

The pattern of withdrawal gradually changes for most students when they become more comfortable in the school. The transition from silent withdrawal to participation occurs more quickly, of course, in all-Native boarding schools since the student does not have to overcome his fear of white strangers. In integrated as well as all-Native schools, however, the students' degree of withdrawal depends largely on the behavior of the individual teacher. Some teachers succeed in evoking high levels of intellectual participation while others teach in silent classrooms.

High School Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Village Students

High school teachers of village students, especially in urban, integrated schools where the student is most likely to withdraw into silence tend to view their fundamental problem with village students as one of communication. Village students' refusal to speak in class is extremely upsetting and embarassing to many teachers. The teacher asks a question, and the Native student lowers his eyes and head and hunches his body into a shell. While the teacher waits, debating on how long to pause for an answer, the restless urban students go out of control or shout out the answer. Angry and humiliated in a battle where the village student almost always emerges as the victor, the teacher finally moves on with no clue as to whether or not the student has understood his presentation.

Not only do teachers find it difficult to use village students' verbal responses as indicators of their understanding but also teachers have great difficulty understanding their nonverbal communications. In contrast to the mobile faces of white students, Indian and Eskimo students' faces are often expressionless in the classroom. When village students do respond nonverbally, they tend to make slight circular gestures which the teacher, accustomed to the angular sweeping gestures of white students, fails to notice. Moreover, in order to save face, village students sometimes send nonverbal messages that they understand a lesson when they actually do not.

> A university student guest is giving a special lesson on electricity to a class of urban students and village Indian and Eskimo students. His talk is incomprehensible to the observer. The white students are sprawled back in their seat with bored expressions. The Native students are leaning over their desks with expressionless faces and appear to be taking notes assiduously.

Teachers rely to a large extent on the nonverbal reactions of the class to judge the progress of the lesson, and village students' nonverbal messages give the teacher no information on how to proceed.

A second pervasive problem felt by teachers is the tension between being kind and sympathetic to the village student and pressuring him to meet the academic requirements of the class. Especially in urban, integrated classrooms, teachers constantly ask themselves, "Should I be understanding or demanding?" If a student refuses to answer a question, even when the teacher believes he knows the answer, how long should the teacher press him? Should the teacher adjust his requirements, tests, and grading system for the village student?

Most teachers veer toward the kind, undemanding end of the continuum. Teachers tend to be sympathetic to village students in view of their limited academic backgrounds, and such sympathy is easy to maintain since the village students rarely present discipline problems. Moreover, teachers are reluctant to demand because of school folklore about the disasterous results of pushing village students too far. In one school, for example, the counselor recounted the tale of a teacher who had asked a village student to read in front of the class. The student could not read and wildly threw the book, accidentally cutting the teacher's face. Yet, as other teachers point out:

> When one trys to treat them too gingerly, some take advantage, and, for example, drink a can of pop between each class (and come late). What do you do about down-to-earth problems like this?

The teacher's dilemma about how much to demand of the village student is compounded by their own ambivalence about the value of their academic courses for Native students. Are they preparing the student for urban life or for village life? If the student intends to go back to the village, does he really need to suffer through French or chemistry or geometry? As one teacher summed up:

> Some real thinking is needed as to goals desired in educating these other-cultural students. Just what are we trying to accomplish? Is it to orient these kids to the predominant culture? If that isn't it, what is?

Faced with the difficulties and embarrassment of academically unprepared village students who refuse to participate in class and uncertain of the legitimacy of their academic requirements for these students, many teachers choose the course of doing nothing at all. Especially in integrated classrooms, teachers find it easy to ignore the presence of a few Native students huddled in the far corner. Teachers rationalize their indifference by arguing that village students have an observational learning style so verbal participation isn't important or by sanctimoniously pointing out that many urban students have similar problems, and to give special help to the village student would be discrimination. As one teacher summed up:

> They are so shy and so unsure of themselves and I am so busy. All of my classes are too big -- and the poor kid just gets lost in the noise and shuffle. If only I had time to sit down with these kids where it was quiet and talk to them. They do need individual help and attention, but I never have extra time -- nor do I really know how to teach them.

DIMENSIONS DIFFERENTIATING EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS

Personal Warmth versus Professional Distance

The fundamental factor that appeared to separate classrooms where village students were silent from classrooms where they were intellectually engaged was whether the teacher assumed a stance of personal warmth or professional distance. Those teachers who assumed the role of personal friend rather than specialized professional dissipated students' terror in the classroom by avoiding the impersonal professionalism that village students often

interpreted as disinterest or hostility and by repeatedly disconfirming students' expectancies of danger in the unfamiliar situation. The importance of relating to Indians on a personal friend-to-friend basis in contacts defined by western culture as professional expert-to-client has been emphasized in other roles such as doctor (Kemnitzer, 1969) and psychiatrist (Krauss, 1971). In the teaching situation, the personal warmth of these effective teachers tended to be so intense that some might view it as inappropriate, although classical views of the teacher-student relationship often emphasize precisely this type of intimacy.

Over and over again, the effective teachers emphasized that "you've got to be personal." "What you have to do is shed the barrier of formality that you put up between you and the class. Approach them like people you know." "The classroom should be like a little family." In contrast to other instructors, those teachers who were effective with village students tended to welcome personal friendship from students and indeed might be disappointed that the urban students, accustomed to professional relationships, were only superficially friendly and held them at a distance. As one said:

> I was thrilled when two of the (Native) girls in the class came and visited me at home. They had cocoa and talked about the village and after that they were much less self-conscious. I really enjoy teaching the Native kids because you can be personal friends with them. They don't reject you the way the white kids do. You can make a very individual and much closer relationship with them than with the other students.

Unaccustomed to such personalism in their relationship to students and yet aware it had powerful effects on classroom performance, these teachers did become in some instances uneasy. As one commented:

> Once I was driving a student home after an evening at the city council (a classroom assignment) and she asked me "Why do you teach?" I said, "I teach because I like to see kids learn and I get depressed if kids don't learn." I felt funny talking like that to a student. I didn't do it to motivate her or anything but the girl tried harder for several days in my class because I guess she liked me and didn't want me to be depressed.

Some teachers had difficulty in reconciling the tensions they felt between being professional and being personal:

> To get these kids to open up, I had to open up myself. They weren't willing to open up to me until I would open up to them. Gradually, they asked me questions about my marital status, when I had last seen my mother. Professionalism makes you feel you shouldn't open up to kids but I think you can be professional and personal, too.

Different teachers expressed personal warmth in different ways, but most emphasized the importance of developing a friendship with students outside of the formal classroom although it took a great deal of additional time. As one put it, "Establishing a personal relationship outside of class means a special bond occurs in class" that alleviates such problems as communication difficulties. Some teachers were amazed at their improved rapport with Native students when they simply remembered their names and were very careful to say "hello" to them in the halls. Many teachers used after school tutoring as a way to get to know village students. Some teachers moved far out of the professional instructor role by encouraging students to call them in the evening when they had personal as well as academic problems or by making such gestures as sending chocolates to a grandmother in the hospital.

Teachers who valued such personalized relationships with students tended to prefer a larger degree of individualized instruction where close contacts were appropriate. Even when teaching a large integrated group, however, these teachers communicated personal warmth to village students, primarily by a subtle use of nonverbal channels. Indians and Eskimos appear to be especially sensitive to nonverbal messages, possibly because awareness of such subtle signals is critical to avoiding strongly feared open confrontation (DePoncins, 1941; Zintz, 1963). As Currie (1970) observes:

> We are a people who use the voice to communicate. We look in a man's eyes, we look at his face when he speaks and this way we know what he says ... with the raise of an eyebrow and the shrug of a shoulder you can say so much more to a person (p. 5).

Since teachers are rarely trained to become aware of their nonverbal communications, it may be useful to describe in detail the nonverbal behaviors through which teachers who elicited high levels of participation communicated personal warmth, especially in a group situation. A high frequency of smiling was one of the most consistent characteristics of these teachers. Many teachers were unaware that they assumed a tense, anxious facial expression when dealing with a village student, since they were uncertain of the student's response. Village students often interpreted this tense expression as hostility. Those teachers who elicited a high

level of participation, in contrast, maintained a reassuring smile when explaining a difficult concept and an expectant smile when asking a student a question before the class.

While smiling is a cue of pleasurable feelings that appears to have universality across cultures,[2] it is possible that smiling has special significance to Eskimos and perhaps Indians as well. Eskimos tend to view a person who expresses good will by observably happy behavior such as smiling and laughing as a safe person, while moody people are feared because they could be plotting aggression (Briggs, 1970). Smiling may have a similar significance among Athabascan Indians, but the evidence is less direct. Navajos, a group to whom they are closely related, hold the belief that a sad or too serious face can signify a dangerous or evil person (Polacca, 1962). Teachers in Athabascan villages have remarked that frequency of smiling is used to judge the goodness of white teachers (VanNess, 1971). "He smiles a lot, he is a nice person."

Another nonverbal expression of warmth used by teachers who elicited high levels of participation from village students was close body distance. The spatial distance one places one's self from another person is an index of the emotional distance of the relationship (Hall, 1969a). A teacher who instructs from the front of the room usually stands at a "formal distance," the distance at which impersonal business is transacted. Those teachers with responsive village students, in contrast, tended to interact within what Hall (1969a) terms a "personal distance," the distance which generates a kinesthetic feeling of closeness. Rather than asking a village student a question from the front of the room, they tended to walk close to the student's desk. When teaching a group, they tended to seat themselves on a desk in the midst of the students. These teachers also tended to increase closeness by placing themselves on the same postural level as the students, sitting next to them or squatting beside them when they taught.

Again, it is possible that close body distance has special importance for village Indian and Eskimo students. Cultures differ in the distances considered appropriate for particular types of interactions (Hall, 1969a). The spatial distance at which Indians and Eskimos normatively interact in a personal relationship appears to be much closer than the distance normative for middle class whites. This cultural difference in body distance is strikingly apparent, for example, in a gym lineup where the urban students space themselves about half a body apart, and the Indian and Eskimo students cram within touch of each other. A number of observers

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[2]Darwin (in Montagu, 1971) suggests that the universal act of sucking at the mother's breast produces the facial configuration of the smile which then becomes associated with other pleasurable experiences. Smiling also has been found to be the behavioral cue which is most important in forming estimation of others' interpersonal warmth (Bayes, 1970).

have remarked that Indian and Eskimo adults, when in rapport with a white person, move so close to them that the white person feels uncomfortable and must restrain himself from moving away (Jones, 1971; Pender, 1971). Both because Indian and Eskimo students view academic work as a personal transaction, where a personal body distance is appropriate, and also because the personal body distance considered normative by village students may be far closer than middle class whites consider usual, it seems likely that teachers generally stand outside the range which Indian and Eskimo students find comfortable for communicating.

Touching is another nonverbal cue which many of the effective teachers used extensively to communicate warmth. To touch another person, of course, conveys warmth in a very physical sense, and it may be that the use of the term "warmth" to mean kindness, friendliness, and nurturance derives from the early experience of warmth through skin contact with the nurturant mother. Those teachers who elicited a high level of intellectual participation from village students frequently placed themselves in positions where body to body contact quite naturally occurred. For example, they squatted shoulder to shoulder by the student and casually draped an arm around him. They might do a demonstration where the teacher placed his hands on the student's hands or give the student a quick hug when privately tutoring him. Since body to body contact is not considered appropriate between teachers and students, especially at the upper grade levels (Hall, 1959), teachers were often embarrassed about touching village students while amazed at the rapport it could create.

Again, touching may be a more central channel of communicating warmth among Indians and Eskimos. Mainstream American culture, reflecting the Puritan emphasis on denial of sensual pleasures, is considered a "no-touch" culture (Montagu, 1971). Indians and Eskimos, in contrast, engage in a high level of bodily contact. While middle class white children generally sleep in separate rooms or at least in their own beds, Indian and Eskimo children sleep in close contact with other human bodies. While middle class white babies spend a great deal of time alone, Eskimo babies are carried in the back of the mother's parka where they remain in direct contact with her skin. After puberty, middle class Americans touch each other primarily in sexual context and a touching that occurs outside such a context can be seriously misinterpreted. As Montagu (1971) notes, a boy putting his arm around the shoulder of another boy is cause for grave concern. Yet, as teachers uneasily point out, Indian and Eskimo adolescent boys and adult men can often be seen with their arms around each other in situations only of comradeship.

Touching may also be used among Eskimos to signify the acceptance of a stranger into the group. Stefannson (1913) observes that the Eskimos stroked him when he became part of the group. Similar occurrences have been reported by later observers:

> One of the stereotypes about Eskimos is they are stoics; actually they are not, except in relationships with whites. Among themselves they are great patters, huggers, kissers; lots of touching happens between girls and girls, women and women; both sexes and all babies ... The minute you get "in" with any group, you are also "in" a physical, emotional way, too, to a much greater extent that our culture considers normal. Conversational distance is much reduced (Pender, 1971).

From its virtual absence in the education literature, the subject of affectionate touchings between teacher and student appears to be a taboo topic. Where a teacher is able to use comfortably this primary communication channel, he may find it a powerful means of communicating warmth, especially toward Indian and Eskimo students who are accustomed to a larger degree of warm physical contact and who may view touching as a signal of social acceptance. As Peace Corps cross-cultural training manuals warn, people from cultures where touching is frequent tend to view middle class Americans as cold and superior because they do not engage in physical contact (Leach, 1969).

In sum, those teachers who succeeded in eliciting a high level of verbal participation from Native students tended to respond to them with an intense personal warmth rather than professional distance. Teachers communicated such feelings by developing friendships with students outside of the classroom in ways that some who hold a narrow view of the teacher's professional role might consider inappropriate. Teachers communicated personal warmth within the classroom in large part through nonverbal messages of smiling, close body distance, and touch. Such nonverbal communications were especially effective in integrated classrooms because teachers could convey personal warmth to the village student without drawing special attention toward him.

Teacher warmth has been found to be a central dimension of teacher behavior which, among white students, is related to many desirable academic outcomes such as classroom attentiveness (Ryans, 1960), work productivity (Cogan, 1958), interest in science (Reed, 1961b), and achievement (McKeachie and Lin, 1971; McKeachie, Lin, Milholland and Issacson, 1966; Christensen, 1960). It seems possible that teacher warmth may have stronger effects among village Indian and Eskimo students who tend to be more interpersonally oriented than white students. It is often suggested that students who are task-oriented may prefer and learn more with a task-oriented impersonal teacher while students who are attuned to the social dimension of the classroom may prefer

and learn more with an interpersonally oriented warm teacher. Some evidence for this view has been presented by St. John (1971) who found that black students' reading achievement gains were higher with an interpersonally oriented teacher while white students gained more with a task-oriented teacher.[3] Whether or not there are cross-cultural differences in the effects of warmth upon achievement, this ethnography suggests the crucial importance of the teacher's warmth for the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo students.

Active Demandingness versus Passive Understanding

Personal warmth, while a necessary condition for eliciting a high level of intellectual performance from Indian and Eskimo students, does not appear to be a sufficient condition. The second factor which differentiated effective and ineffective teachers was the extent to which they actively demanded a high level of academic work. "Demandingness" is not as central in the literature on teacher effectiveness as personal warmth. However, the concept of demandingness is similar to such dimensions as academic standards (McKeachie and Lin, 1969) and teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968), both of which have been found to relate significantly to student achievement.

The concept of active demandingness may have special importance in a cross-cultural teaching situation for several reasons. As previously discussed, teachers in a cross-cultural context tend to be more uncertain of the relevance and legitimacy of their requirements and hence tend to be more hesitant about demanding a high level of academic work. In addition, Indian and Eskimo students, while actually fearful in the threatening school situation, in many instances attempt to evade stressful learning tasks by "playing shy Native." Many students have learned over the years that white teachers expect Native students to stare mutely at the floor when confronted with an academic demand and learn to use this behavior to avoid difficult tasks.

Teachers who elicited a high level of intellectual participation from Indian and Eskimo students were aware of students' use of this role playing evasion strategy and also pointed out that village students' low self-images made them underestimate what they could actually do. When asked the key to their success, these teachers almost invariably replied, "I demand." These teachers scorned instructors who babied Native students and gave them only

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[3] This hypothesis is also supported by findings that teacher warmth is more strongly related to the achievement of women students, who tend to be more interpersonally oriented (McKeachie and Lin, 1971), and to the achievement of those men students who show high needs for affiliation (McKeachie et al., 1966).

"loving kindness." They insisted upon a high level of academic work. Where the overly sensitive teacher stopped calling upon Native students who responded to questions by mute withdrawal, for example, these teachers continued to call on them. If the student did not respond, they casually passed on with a murmered, "We'll come back to you."

These teachers did not, of course, make demands which were beyond the student's capacity. Moreover, difficult demands were avoided until rapport had been established. After a personal relationship developed between teacher and student, the student could interpret the teacher's academic demandingness as merely another expression of his personal concern.

A Typology of Teachers

Classifying teachers of Indian and Eskimo students on the two dimensions which appear to be central in eliciting intellectual participation -- personal warmth versus professional distance and active demandingness versus passive understanding -- yields a typology of four kinds of teachers[4] (See Figure 1). These four classes should be viewed as ideal types which, of course, do not adequately describe every teacher. However, these types do correspond closely to characteristic syndromes of teacher behavior which are easily observable in classrooms.

This typology of teachers deals only with the relationship between the teacher and the village Indian and Eskimo student. As the following sections indicate, teachers do not necessarily relate to white or black students in the same style as they relate to the Indian and Eskimo students in their classrooms. This exploratory study suggests that the teacher who is effective with Indian and Eskimo students tends also to be effective with students from other cultural groups. However, the converse does not appear to be true. Teachers who are highly effective with white or black students are not necessarily effective with village Indian and Eskimo students.

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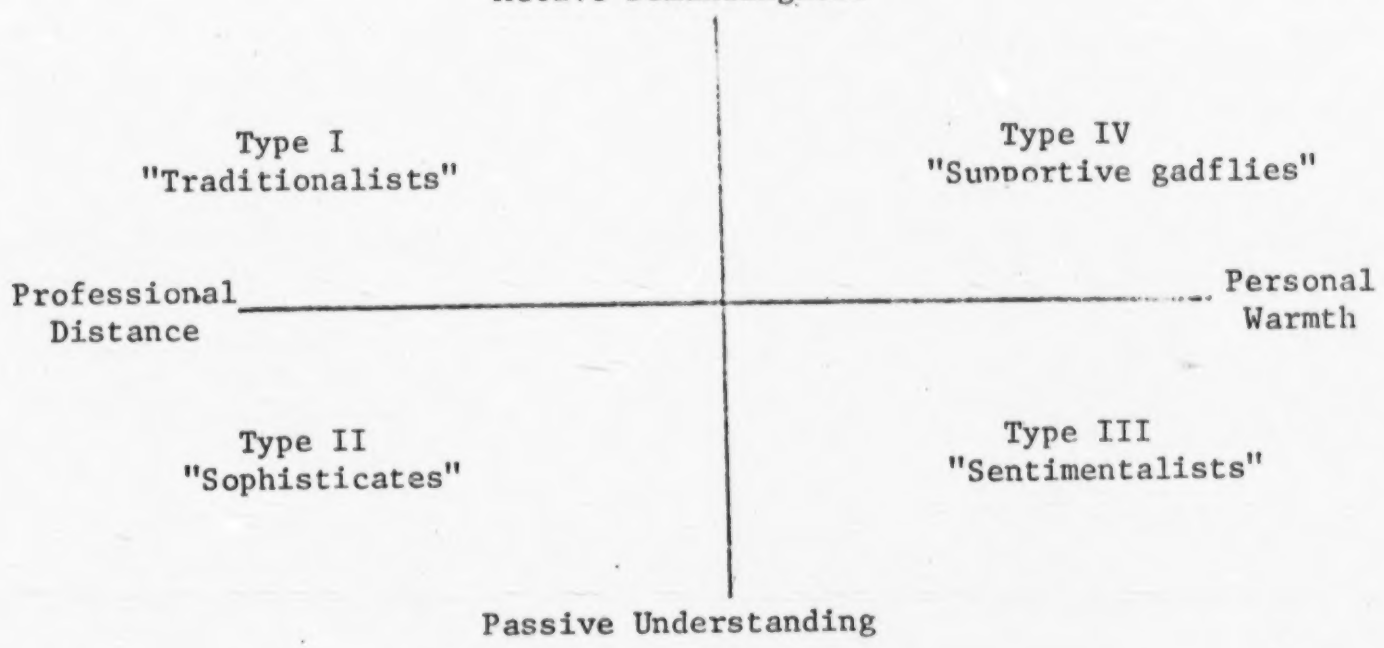
[4]Teacher warmth and demandingness have been found to be independent dimensions of teacher behavior so such a typology is appropriate (Reed, 1961b). Similar dimensions of warmth and demandingness have been found to be useful in constructing a typology of successful and unsuccessful boarding home parents (Kleinfeld, 1972) which suggests that these dimensions may be central in explaining effectiveness in many types of cross-cultural relationships where the goal is to enable the individual to acquire the skills necessary for autonomous functioning.

FIGURE 1

A TYPOLOGY OF TEACHERS OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS



Type I: Professional Distance-Active Demandingness - "Traditionalists"

The traditionalist, a type of teacher common in the educational literature, tended to concentrate his attention exclusively on the academic subject matter and to ignore the interpersonal dimension of the classroom. He usually preferred a highly structured lesson formally presented, such as a lecture. However, not only the teacher's personality but also the subject matter could force teachers into a traditional role. Ironically, it was those teachers who attempted to teach innovative courses relevant to the village student's background such as Native studies or arctic sciences that often found themselves teaching in a traditionalist fashion. Since curriculum materials on the student's level were unavailable in these subjects, the teacher was compelled to do his own research and tended to present the material through a lecture. For academically competent students who were also subject matter oriented, the traditionalist could be a successful, stimulating teacher. However, this formal, impersonal teaching style which relied in the main on oral comprehension tended to be disasterous with village Indian and Eskimo students.

In classrooms with urban as well as village students, these teachers tended to focus their attention on those students who were similarly subject matter oriented, and the Indian and Eskimo students were ignored.[5]

> Mr. W. is a nervous man with a perpetually strained facial expression. The students are seated in rows with the Indian and Eskimo students predominantly in the far left corner of the classroom.
>
> During the observation, Mr. W. stood behind his desk lecturing. He did not smile except at the observer, and his lecture and occasional questions were interlaced with constant sarcasm such as "That's a good attitude!" He placed a summary of the main concepts of the lecture, highly technical terms, on the board. The Indian and Eskimo students dutifully wrote down the words.
>
> In a later interview, Mr. W. voiced a good deal of concern for village students and noted that their main problem in the class was vocabulary. They couldn't understand what he was saying. While some village students work, Mr. W. observed, others sit in the back of the room

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[5]All identifying characteristics of these teachers have been changed. In some cases, the portrait is a composite of very similar teachers.

and read comic books. "The other kids," Mr. W. mentioned, "tell me that the Native students are afraid of me because I yell at them. Well, I do jump on them when they are slack on work."

Some of the Indian and Eskimo students complained to their counselor that Mr. W. was prejudiced, and the counselor was attempting to remove them from his class.

When the traditionalist taught in an all-Native classroom where there was not a group of similarly task oriented students to maintain classroom activities, the class reached a deadlock. Teacher-student interaction in these classrooms resembled the classroom situations commonly described in the Indian education literature -- a silent Native peer group united against a carping teacher insensitive to the interpersonal values that far outweighed his paltry achievement concerns.

Mrs. M. is an older woman who was formerly an assistant principal. The setting is intended to be an open classroom with carpet, movable chairs, and space enough for several teachers to work together. Mrs. M. has appropriated her space, walled it in with bookcases, and lined up her students in neat rows.

Throughout the observation, Mrs. M. glowered at her class. "What is the name of this village on the Yukon?", she challenged, pointing to a large map. The class remained silent, although it seemed unlikely that no one knew the answer since many students came from the area. One young man raised his hand and asked for a pencil. "No, you don't need a pencil because we <u>don't mark</u> on papers," Mrs. M. snapped. "Now come on. You may not know now, but believe me you will by the time I get through with you."

In a later interview, Mrs. Mr. complained that she found this teaching situation extremely frustrating because she wanted to teach but the students would not learn. "These kids aren't as dumb as they like to

> make us think," she observed. "They just play dumb. I'm not teaching anything. They're just wasting their money paying me. I'm not doing my job."

Type II: Professional Distance-Passive Understanding - "Sophisticates"

For urbane, highly verbal students, these teachers were a delight. Their professional distance was not coldness so much as sophisticated reserve. Their humor was subtle, tending toward irony. They preferred a discussion class where they could help students discover for themselves intellectual concepts. The sophisticate teachers tended to be highly educated and well-traveled. They often had an excellent background in anthropology and great sympathy for village Indian and Eskimo students, with whom they were greatly concerned.

As teachers of village Indian and Eskimo students, however, these sophisticates tended to be failures. In an integrated classroom, the teacher generally found himself teaching to other students while the Indian and Eskimo students watched in tense apprehension. Accustomed to the highly structured textbooks and programmed learning materials of the village school, village students did not understand what was expected of them in these classrooms. With their limited English skills, village students would have had a difficult time entering the fast paced classroom repartee had they wanted to. In addition, village students found it difficult to follow the teacher's ironic style.

> Miss R., a young teacher dressed in Carnaby Street style, has seated her students in a circle. She began a discussion of the film just shown, an account of a foreign revolt which draws symbolic parallels to repression in American life. The Native students remained silent while the other students excitedly called out answers. Finally, one student got the point of the film, and the teacher responded in a tone of mock horror, "You mean there is no freedom in America?" The Native students' eyes widened in fear, and they squirmed further down in their seats.

In their concern with the Native students, these teachers made many attempts to be supportive and establish a sense of camaraderie. These attempts, however, tended to backfire:

> An Eskimo girl asked Mr. D. for a hall pass. "What color of slips are we using today," Mr. D. teased, "blue, green, or chartreuse? You know, it isn't easy to work in a police state." The girl stared at him in confusion and hastily ran out into the hall.

While sophisticated teachers in integrated classrooms did little damage beyond making village students feel uncomfortable and teaching them little, the sophisticate in an all-Native classroom could do serious harm. Interested in the psychology of Native students, these teachers often focused on Native-white differences and reinforced students' sense of being different and estranged. They also tended to exploit Native students to advance their own educational interests and satisfy their curiosity. While the following interaction was stimulated by the videotaping process, it is not dissimilar from what happens in other classes of this type.

> Mr. G. was teaching an all-Native orientation class in a large urban school. He attempted to produce an informal classroom atmosphere by sitting casually on his desk top with the students placed in a circle. However, his other nonverbal communications negated this carefully planned message. Mr. G.'s hunched posture with his arms wound tightly around his body, communicated withdrawal and reserve. The students were seated in a circle but had moved their chairs to the edges of the room so the camera panned from the teacher to the class in great physical and psychological vistas.
>
> The camera man teased the students, "O.K. say cheese." Mr. G. added nervously, "You are assimilated into white man's culture. You know you are supposed to smile when he says cheese." The students giggled apprehensively. "Why is he taking a picture of this class?" Mr. G. asked. There is no response except more nervous giggling. "Do you think if this were a normal white class he'd be here?" continued Mr. G. Again, there was no response. "He's here because there are quite a number of Natives here. What is the

difference about this class?" One Native boy raised his hand and said, "Because people who have different backgrounds should share their opinions." Ignoring the opportunity to develop this student's ideas, Mr. G. dismissed his answer with a curt "No. There are other classes where students have different backgrounds like there are black kids in this school. What's different about this class? What do most of the Native students have in common?" Another student called out, "Skin color." "No, no, no," Mr. G. said quickly, horrified by the racism implied.

In a later interview, Mr. G. commented that he had a difficult time making the students understand that they were in a special orientation class because they came from villages and were different. "'If white kids were sitting here,' I said to them, 'wouldn't they be arguing and noisy?' You know, the Native kids made negative comments about the white kids' verbalness. Perhaps Natives associate loud talking with aggressiveness and a white identity. That's an interesting thought."

Equally damaging was the tendency of these sophisticated teachers to socialize village students into the stereotyped role behavior that their anthropological studies had led them to expect.

Mr. N. was reading Indian poetry to the class in a somewhat affected tone. The poems were written in pidgin English and illustrated the negative attitude Indians held toward boasting. In explaining the poem, however, Mr. N. expanded, "Now this poem shows many of the things we've talked about. We've commented on how most of the Native people aren't aggressive, nowhere nearly as much as white people. The idea of competition and bragging and boasting are alien to them, and so we think of them as very quiet and shy and insecure."

These teachers' fascination with cultural differences also led them to be excessively willing to place village students in a special category and make exceptions for them. Such misplaced kindness taught the village student to become dependent on white people's largesse rather than his own capabilities.

After class, an Indian girl came up to Mrs. L. and told her that she had been sick and had missed the last test. "What should I study

for it?" she asked. "Don't worry," Mrs. L. said kindly, "I'll make up a special test for you and you will do well on it." "But I don't know what to study," the girl persisted. "Don't worry," repeated Mrs. L., "I'll make it special for you. You'll do well."

Type III: Personal Warmth-Passive Understanding - "Sentimentalists"

These teachers tended to be extremely warm, kindly people who found it difficult to make demands upon any students. The urban students, taking advantage of the teacher's weakness, tended to defy even the teacher's minimal requirements, and the teacher reacted with aggrieved anger. The Indian and Eskimo students, in contrast, were too insecure to challenge the teacher and valued his personal attentions. Thus, the sentimentalist teacher in the integrated classroom found himself in a situation where he was behaving with angry irritation toward the urban students, who defied him, but with great kindliness toward the village students, who permitted him to act in the warm, undemanding style he preferred. This apparent teacher favoritism in turn angered the urban students, already resentful of the special treatment accorded village students in the school. The result of this complex interaction between the teacher and different student groups tended to be a situation where the warmth of the teacher toward the village student was nullified by the hostility of classmates.

Mrs. M. is an outcast among the other teachers because of certain oddities. The students had arranged themselves in a double circle. Two Native girls were sitting together close to the teacher's desk in the inner circle with a number of empty chairs separating themselves from the other students in this first circle. In the back circle were seated two Native boys next to other students.

Mrs. M. attempted to have the class talk about a movie she had just shown. "What do you think is happening?" she asked. There was no response from the class, and Mrs. M. repeated the question. The class began to make silly responses, teasing the teacher but she ignored or pretended to ignore them. In the midst of the lesson, the teacher walked over to the two Native girls and held a private conversation unaudible to the observer. The lesson stopped as the teacher and the girls giggled together. When the teacher moved away, the Native girls whispered to each other in Eskimo. Two girls in the outer circle mocked the guttural Eskimo sounds, "Dong, dong, dong." The faces of the Native boys sitting next to them contracted into stoic masks.

Extremely sympathetic to the Native students, these sentimentalist teachers made few demands upon them, and little learning took place. Indeed, these teachers are reminiscent of the "nice teacher who doesn't teach the kids anything" in Dumont's (1969) teacher classification.

> An older Indian student sauntered into his last period class, sat down, and stared out the window. Mrs. O. came up to him, put her arm around him, and joked about a comment he had made. He continued to stare out the window throughout the lesson, but Mrs. O. made no attempt to induce him to participate in the classwork, although she continued to joke with him at intervals.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. O. observed that she was very easy going and believed in a laissez-faire theory of education. "After all," she pointed out, "you can't make students learn."

While the sentimentalist teacher in an integrated classroom could do damage to the Native student by fanning urban students' resentments, the sentimentalist teacher in an all-Native classroom did little damage if little good. The class generally performed trivial, workbook type assignments that did not stretch their capacities.

> Mrs. L., a young teacher with a gentle smile, had given her ninth grade students the assignment of tracing a chart. She wandered around and joked with the students. After a while, she sat at a table and began a game unrelated to the work. "Who would like to make $10.00? Let's see if you can do this match trick!"

Type IV: Personal Warmth-Active Demandingness - "Supportive Gadflies"

While the sentimentalists were generally ineffective with both village and urban students, the supportive gadfly teachers tended to be highly successful with both groups. The teaching style that elicited a high level of intellectual participation with village students tended to be more obvious in an all-Native classroom because the teacher could more easily emphasize certain behaviors, but similar methods were used more subtly in integrated classrooms.

In contrast to most other teachers, who plunged immediately into academic work, these teachers spent a substantial amount of time at the beginning of the year in establishing a positive social definition of the classroom situation. Interestingly, a similar procedure is recommended in many cross-cultural training manuals. A frequent reason that task-oriented westerners may fail to accomplish their goals in a cross-cultural encounter is that they attempt to begin business at once when members of certain other cultural groups consider a lengthy period devoted exclusively to establishing appropriate social relationships to be an important business prerequisite. Thus, these teachers might spend the first days getting to know the students and helping them with non-academic problems such as how to find their classes or how to work the combination to their lockers. They also took care to develop positive social relationships among students in the classroom. One teacher, for example, began the year by playing a game where each student had to learn the name and village of each of the other students in the classroom and call them out loudly enough to be understood. "Before we could bring them up in the academic area," one teacher summed up, "we tried to get them to feel comfortable in the situation. Once they feel comfortable, they catch up quickly."

Only after rapport had been established did these teachers become demanding. Their demands were always accompanied by a warm smile, gentle banter, and gargantuan quantities of support, but they permitted no evasion. Students realized that they could not hide in the role of "shy Native" because these gadfly teachers would always return to them.

The essence of these teachers' instructional style was to use intense warmth within a highly personalized relationship to draw from students a standard of academic work which the students did not believe themselves capable of. Thus, students did not interpret teachers' demands as bossiness or animosity, interpersonal modes which village socialization patterns, emphasizing equalitarian relationships and fear of external agents, make students extremely likely to suspect. Rather the teacher's demandingness was interpreted as merely one other facet of his personal concern, and the student's performance became a reciprocal obligation in the personal relationship. The emotional intensity of many of these classroom encounters, where academic performance becomes unified into the obligations and privileges of personal bonds, is difficult to describe. One teacher, for example, make a solemn, personal pact with a withdrawn boy, promising that she would stay with him and help him find the answer as long as necessary if he would only try to say anything except "I don't know" in response to every question.

> Sometimes he would actually bite his tongue to stop from saying "I don't know." He was so used to it. It had saved him from his other teachers. I know it was hard for him to

> translate everything back and forth from Eskimo and easy for him to avoid the situation by saying "I don't know." But we worked very hard on it, and we got somewhere.

A similar instructional style of concentrated intimacy was used with an entire classroom group. These teachers consistently insisted upon the same type of responses such as loud, clear speech that they would expect of urban students.

> Mrs. C. is an elegantly attired Native woman with a radiant smile. She sat casually on top of a student's desk in the middle of the class and leaned into the group of village students.
>
> "Who can tell me what a topic sentence is?" she inquired with an air suggesting that this information was a personal secret to be shared between her and the class. "I see one hand, two hands." She waited calmly, smiling at the class with anticipation. "Three hands, four, O.K., Tom." Tom murmured, "Main idea." She smiled at him, waiting. Then she leaned toward him and whispered in an intimate tone, "I can't hear you." Rearing up in his seat with great effort, he repeated more loudly "MAIN IDEA" and slumped back beaming. Other students began to call out, "Thing you're going to write about." "What you're talking about." "Very good," Mrs. C. said, "Very, very good. Now, who would like to read their paper to the class?" "Loud and clear, please," she added with decision.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. C. commented that her problem was not to get village students to talk but to get them to keep quiet. "They're so eager," she explained, "even on deadly things like English grammer. They are reluctant, but they will do it. One of the kids came up to me yesterday and said, 'You act like a sergeant.' 'Yup,' I said. 'That's exactly right.'"

While demanding a high level of intellectual participation, these teachers were highly supportive of any attempt the student did make. An essential element of this instructional style was the almost absolute avoidance of even minor forms of direct criticism. As one teacher said:

> You know why they won't talk in class? Because every time they open up their mouth somebody corrects them. We give them constant reassurance that mistakes don't matter. You have to be positive and try not to say "no" or "wrong". I say "close" or I change the question to fit the answer. For example, if you say "What is a verb?" and they answer "Name of a person, place, or thing," I say "That's a beautiful answer for the question 'What is a noun?' And we'll talk about nouns later ..."

Teachers commented that what seemed to them to be the most mild of critical remarks could cause village students to retreat into silence indefinitely. Indian and Eskimo students' sensitivity to criticism may be due in part to the difference in the range of reproof measures used by villagers and westerners. Children who are accustomed to indirect methods of reproof, often communicated nonverbally, are likely to consider remarks that are mild by western standards to be severe criticism.

These teachers used a number of different methods to avoid directly criticizing students. One of these techniques, a strategy common among Indian and Eskimo villagers, was to impersonalize a situation where a particular individual might be accused of wrong-doing. In this technique, the general problem is discussed in the presence of the offender but without personal reference to him. For example, at a village meeting, the problem of getting work done in the community will be discussed but without mentioning the names of the offenders, who are sitting at the meeting and whose identity everybody knows. Thus, a teacher approaching a daydreaming student might say not "Why are you stting there with your book closed?" but rather "Why is that book closed? Did the wind blow it shut?" Another indirect method of criticism used by these teachers, which is also common among Indians and Eskimos, is the penetrating, direct stare (Dickeman, 1969; Briggs, 1970). Teachers were often amazed at the sensitivity of more traditional village students to this control strategy. Teachers learned to avoid a direct stare where disapproval was not intended, for example, in asking a question. The penetrating gaze that white people commonly use to signal interest in the speaker may be interpreted by Indians and Eskimos as a display of anger (Hall, 1969b; Zintz, 1963).

Joking, a device used in many other delicate social situations, was another way these teachers expressed criticism. Joking is an extremely important expressive mode among Indians and Eskimos. It provides a form for releasing aggression, which is strongly disapproved of, in a guise of humorous teasing (Spindler and Spindler, 1957; Briggs, 1970). The

appropriate style of joking is not sophisticated irony, which students are apt to misunderstand, but rather a broad gentle joshing. Thus, a teacher might say to a misbehaving student in a tone that mocked not only the seriousness of the rebuke but also the teacher herself as a self-important white person who used big words. "Jack, I am IN-QUIR-ING of what you are doing?" A "practical joker" strain is a core element of modal Indian personality (Spinlder and Spindler, 1957), and popular teachers found themselves a chagrined victim of students' often earthy jokes.

In integrated classrooms, these supportive gadfly teachers had two special problems. First, they had to adapt their instruction to the very different backgrounds and achievement levels of village and urban students. These teachers often structured the class in ways largely for the village students' benefit, but, in contrast to the sentimentalists, they avoided giving village students any special attention that would attract the notice of the other students. For example, since the teacher had a difficult time using village students' facial expressions or verbal responses to determine if they understood a concept, he might ask a question and tell all students to write down the answer. Then he would go around the room barely glancing at papers other than those of the village students. Similarly, realizing that the village students often did badly on tests not because they did not know the information but rather because they could not understand the vocabulary or intent of the questions, these teachers made up several versions of the same test for all students. These teachers also tended to individualize classwork so personal tutoring of village students could be accepted as a matter of course.

The teacher in an integrated classroom had the second, more difficult problem of controlling urban students' animosities so that village students could participate without fear of being laughed at. Some teachers dealt with this situation by heading off anticipated hostility by such remarks as "This is new to all of us so let's not be a critical audience." Others attempted to enhance the Native student's status in the classroom group by devising lessons that emphasized his competencies. One science teacher, for example, found that the problem of urban students' mocking village students abruptly stopped after he assigned a paper on how to survive if lost while hunting. A few teachers attempted to combat inter-group suspicions by assignments where urban and village students worked together in teams. Initial resistance to this idea generally came from the Native students who protested, sometimes tearfully, that "the white kids don't like us."

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The essence of the instructional style which elicits a high level of intellectual performance from village Indian and Eskimo students is to create an extremely warm personal relationship and to actively demand a level of academic work which the student does not suspect he can attain. Village students thus interpret the teacher's demandingness not as bossiness or hostility but rather as another expression of his personal concern, and meeting the teacher's academic standards becomes their reciprocal obligation in an intensely personal relationship.

The class of teachers labeled "supportive gadflies," who combine personal warmth and active demandingness, tend to be effective with both village and urban students. Other types of teachers may be highly effective with urban students but unsuccessful with village students (See Figure 2). Teaching village students, in sum, is a specialized skill for which many excellent teachers may not be personally suited.

The "traditionalist" teacher, who concentrates on academic work to the exclusion of the interpersonal dimension may, if he has other desirable qualities, be excellent with urban students. In an integrated classroom, the traditionalist teacher tends to focus on the instruction of those students who share his task orientation, and the village student may be simply ignored. In an all-Native classroom in contrast, the traditionalist teacher generally creates an emotional climate for village students of hostility rather than simply indifference. The student peer group, as has been reported in other ethnographies, interprets his interpersonal mode negatively and unites against him in passive resistance to his learning demands. The traditionalist teacher tends to respond with angry frustration.

At the other extreme is the "sentimentalist" teacher, who expresses his warm sympathy for village students by yielding to the temptation of making everything as easy as possible for them, a practice which elicits little growth. While sentimentalist teachers in all-Native classrooms merely mark time, doing little damage if little good, in integrated classrooms these teachers can be dangerous. Their preferred warm, undemanding style leads urban students to test the limits of their passivity. Thus, the sentimentalist teacher in the integrated classroom tends to find himself reacting with hostile irritation toward urban students but with warm understanding toward the village students. Resenting this apparent favoritism, urban students tend to mock the village students, thus confirming Native students' initial expectancies of prejudice and rejection.

FIGURE 2

EFFECTIVE TEACHERS AND CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENT GROUPS

	Unsuccessful with Village Indian & Eskimo Students	Successful with Village Indian & Eskimo Students
Successful with Urban White & Black Students	Type I* Professional Distance - Active Demandingness "Traditionalists" Type II* Professional Distance - Passive Understanding "Sophisticates"	Type IV Personal Warmth - Active Demandingness "Supportive gadflies"
Unsuccessful with Urban White & Black Students	Type III Personal Warmth - Passive Understanding "Sentimentalists"	

*Not all teachers of these types were successful with urban students. Teacher effectiveness depended on other characteristics which are not reviewed here.

The "sophisticate" teacher's style of detached reserve, together with his intellectual orientation and sympathy for village students, creates a classroom situation lacking both in personal warmth and active demandingness. In an integrated classroom, the sophisticate, while much concerned with village students, finds himself teaching to urban students while the village students listen with apprehension to the witty repartee. Especially in all-Native classrooms, this type of teacher can do great damage. His intellectual interest in Indian and Eskimo culture often leads him to focus on the cultural differences of the students which contributes to their sense of inferiority and isolation. In addition, these teachers often communicate expectations of modal Native behavior patterns -- shyness, noncompetitiveness, concrete thinking -- gleaned from their anthropological interests that become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Through what methods can schools improve the quality of teaching received by village high school students? This study suggests the dangers of relying primarily on self-selection of teachers to choose instructors of village students. While the traditionalist teacher may indeed prefer to teach other groups of students who are more task-oriented, the sentimentalist and sophisticate teachers, as well as the supportive gadflies, tend to volunteer for such teaching assignments. Moreover, sentimentalist teachers are likely to impress school personnel favorably because of their obviously overwhelming concern for village students, and sophisticate teachers may make a similarly excellent impression because of their excellent anthropological backgrounds and great interest in Native students. Careful selection procedures by school personnel aware of both the personal warmth and active demandingness required of effective teachers of village students can help avoid creating classroom situations that are demoralizing for the teacher and damaging for the student.

Pre-service and inservice training programs may also help to increase teacher effectiveness but their effects should not be overestimated. The effects of short-term training programs on fundamental interpersonal orientations such as personal warmth, which may depend on early family and peer group experiences (Reed, 1961a), is probably quite limited. Teacher training programs, however, could help teachers who find it difficult to communicate personal warmth to learn to arrange their classrooms in informal ways which facilitate personal relationships with students. Moreover, such training programs can also serve an important function in legitimizing active demandingness so that teachers come to view high academic standards, not passive sympathy, as the appropriate expression of their concern for village students. Such programs may be especially effective at the pre-service level, since teaching behavior has not been stabilized and rationalized.

STUDY II:

THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASSROOM CLIMATE TO THE VERBAL PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS IN INTEGRATED CLASSROOMS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to test empirically a major hypothesis suggested by the ethnographic analysis and by other studies -- that the interpersonal dimension of the classroom is related to the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students. Where harmony between the teacher and the class and within the student group is absent, Indian and Eskimo students tend to withdraw into silence. Silence may be a response to interpersonal stress and may also be a strategy of passive aggression against a disliked teacher.

In the educational research literature, the interpersonal dimension of the classroom is often conceptualized as "classroom climate." This study, therefore, tested the specific hypothesis that Indian and Eskimo students who perceive a positive climate in the integrated classroom would participate more frequently in academic discussions than Indian and Eskimo students who perceive a less positive classroom climate. The relationship of verbal participation both to the general classroom climate and to the specific factor of classmate friendliness was examined, since many village students attribute their silence specifically to fear of humiliation by urban classmates.

Although stimulating widespread participation in class discussions is a central concern of many teachers, the empirical research on classroom participation is negligible. This lack of empirical research is surprising in view of the value placed on oral communication skills in western culture and in view of the general belief that participation in classroom discussion increases learning since students must actively restructure the material (Cross and Nagle, 1970). While research is lacking, there are numerous practical teacher guides which discuss the basis of non-participation and suggest teaching remedies (Alameda County, 1969; Cross and Nagle, 1970; Witter, 1967; Wolf, 1969). Some of these give special attention to the extreme withdrawal of Indian and Eskimo students (Obsorn, 1967; Osborn, 1968). Implicit in these teaching guides is the general theory, applicable to the Indian and Eskimo student in an integrated classroom, that refusal to speak in class is based primarily on students' insecurity and lack of confidence in a threatening situation. A study of classroom participation among college students which found that students who did not participate in classroom

discussions tended to have lower self-esteem and a greater degree of insecurity as measured by personality tests indeed supports this view (William, 1971).

If fear of making errors before a critical teacher and peer group is a major cause of non-participation, then a warm and acceptant classroom climate should reduce such fear and thereby increase classroom participation. While this process does not appear to have been examined empirically in the classroom, several studies have shown that a climate of warmth and acceptance in the related interview situation tends to increase the level of verbal participation of the interviewee (Reece and Whitman, 1962; Pope and Siegman, 1968), although other studies have not consistently replicated this effect (William, 1970; Heller, Davis and Myers, 1966).

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects consisted of forty-two Indian and Eskimo ninth grade students from small Alaskan villages who were attending two integrated urban high schools. Of this group, twenty-nine students were Eskimo and thirteen were Indian. There were also thirteen males and twenty-nine females. Ninth graders were selected since they are new to the urban school and tend to be most withdrawn. The study was carried out, however, at the end of the school year when some of the students had begun to speak in class.

Measures

Students' perception of classroom climate was assessed by Rabinowitz and Rosenbaum's (1958) Teacher-Pupil Rapport Scale. The validity of this scale is evidenced by its significant relationship both to observers' ratings and a self-report inventory of teachers' classroom hostility, and reliability of the measure was found to be .89 (Rabinowitz and Rosenbaum, 1958).

This eight-item questionnaire (See Appendix I) should probably be considered a measure of total classroom climate rather than simply teacher-pupil rapport since several items concern general feelings about the class, for example, "Do you have fun in this class?" Two very minor changes in wording were made to make the scale appropriate to the particular school situation. Students were asked to rate the classroom climate in their major academic subjects of English, mathematics, and science.

To assess perception of classmate friendliness, students were asked "Are most of the students in this class friendly to you?" in each major academic subject. No attempt was made to validate this item, and, as subsequent results suggest, it seems likely that this item was not a good measure despite its face validity.

To assess students' degree of participation in classroom discussions, both the students and their teachers were asked to rate participation in each academic subject on a four-point scale (See Appendix I). Concurrent validity of the teachers' and students' participation ratings were moderately high in science classes ($r = .48$ $p < .01$), although low in English classes ($r=.21$ n.s.).

The student questionnaire containing the measures of perceived classroom climate, perceived classmate friendliness, and the student's rating of his participation in classroom discussion for each of his English, science, and mathematics classes was mailed to all fifty-six Indian and Eskimo ninth grade village students in the school district, and forty-two were returned. Such a seventy-five percent response rate is reasonably high.

All five science teachers and all nine English teachers in the school district who had village Indian and Eskimo ninth graders in their classrooms returned their questionnaires rating student participation. However, only four of the seven mathematic teachers did so. Since these four mathematics teachers had few village students, mathematic teachers' participation ratings were dropped from the study.

RESULTS

As is evident from the means and standard deviations of measures, village students tended to rate the friendliness of their classmates at a very high level (See Table 1). Considering village students' fears of classmate hostility suggested by the ethnographic study, this high rating raises doubts about the validity of the measure. Possibly such positive ratings indicate village students' denial of classmates' negative feelings in view of their intense desire to be liked. A similar process occurred in another study of village students' boarding home parents where students often insisted that boarding home parents were "nice" even though they had requested to be removed from their homes (Kleinfeld, 1972).

TABLE 1

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF CLASSROOM CLIMATE, CLASSMATE FRIENDLINESS, AND STUDENTS' AND TEACHERS' RATINGS OF INTELLECTUAL PARTICIPATION

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Classroom Climate: English*	42	23.64	5.63
Classroom Climate: Science	41	23.41	6.07
Classroom Climate: Mathematics	41	24.95	6.21
Classmate Friendliness:** English	42	3.14	.98
Classmate Friendliness: Science	41	3.10	.96
Classmate Friendliness: Mathematics	41	3.02	1.01
Student Rating of English Participation ***	42	2.26	.93
Student Rating of Science Participation	41	2.17	.93
Student Rating of Mathematics Participation	41	2.27	1.08
Teacher Rating of Student Participation: English ****	40	1.80	1.12
Teaching Rating of Student Participation: Science	37	1.65	1.06

*The classroom climate scale ranged from 8 to 32 with a high score indicating perception of a positive classroom climate.

**The classmate friendliness scale ranged from 1 to 4 with a high score indicating perception of a high degree of friendliness.

***The student rating of participation scale ranged from 1 to 4 with a high score indicating high participation.

****The teacher and student intellectual participation scale ranged from 1 to 4 with a high score indicating high participation.

Village students' perception of the classroom climate showed a moderately strong relationship to their degree of participation in academic discussions in each of their English, science, and mathematics classes. This relationship held when either students' ratings (See Table 2) or teachers' ratings were used as an index of participation (See Table 3). Thus, the major hypothesis was sustained.

Relationships between students' perception of classmate friendliness and participation, however, were small with the exception of one instance. It is possible that this result is due to the inadequacy of the measure of classmate friendliness, as explained above.

CONCLUSIONS

This study suggests that a positive classroom climate may increase the verbal participation of typically withdrawn village Indian and Eskimo adolescents in integrated urban classrooms. However, the relationships found between classroom climate and verbal participation could have other explanations. It is possible, for example, that the causal relationship is in the opposite direction. Indian and Eskimo students who talk more in class may perceive the classroom atmosphere more positively. While experimental studies are necessary to establish casuality, this study does provide support for the importance the ethnographic study and other research ascribes to interpersonal relationships in teaching Indian and Eskimo students.

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASSROOM CLIMATE, CLASSMATE FRIENDLINESS, AND STUDENTS' RATING OF INTELLECTUAL PARTICIPATION

Students' Ratings	Classroom Climate	Classmate Friendliness (Student)
English Participation	.31*	.10
Science Participation	.45**	.28
Mathematics Participation	.41**	.43**

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASSROOM CLIMATE,
CLASSMATE FRIENDLINESS, AND TEACHERS' RATINGS
OF INTELLECTUAL PARTICIPATION

Teachers' Ratings	Classroom Climate	Classmate Friendliness
English Participation	.45**	-.15
Science Participation	.36**	.13

** $p < .01$

STUDY III:

EFFECTS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION OF PERSONAL WARMTH ON THE INTELLIGENCE TEST PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO ADOLESCENTS

INTRODUCTION

The ethnographic study suggested that teacher warmth, especially as communicated by nonverbal cues such as smiling, body distance, and postural stance, increased the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students. The previous study indeed found a positive relationship between a warm classroom climate and students' intellectual participation, although causality was not established. The purpose of this study was experimentally to manipulate nonverbal cues of personal warmth in order to test the causal hypothesis that higher teacher warmth increases intellectual performance as indicated by higher scores on intelligence tests.

For white students, the relationship between warmth and task performance has been reasonably well established. As previously reviewed, several studies have found a relationship between teacher warmth and students' intellectual performance as measured by alertness in class (Ryans, 1960), classwork productivity (Cogan, 1958), and academic achievement (McKeachie and Lin, 1971; McKeachie et al., 1966). In a number of experimental studies, reviewed by Rosenthal (1966), examiner warmth was found to increase performance level on a wide variety of tasks. In the specific area of intelligence test performance, Gordon and Durea (1948) found that examiner warmth communicated through verbal praise and encouragement, led to a difference of about six points in the intelligence test performance of white eighth graders. Exner (1966) found that examiner warmth, communicated in a pretesting interview, led to a difference of about nine points in verbal intelligence test scores and about six points in performance intelligence test scores. Crow (1964) found that examiner warmth, communicated by the nonverbal cues of smiling, leaning toward subjects, and eye contact, led to higher performance on the homemade version of the digit-symbol intelligence subtest, although not in more rote tasks. The relationship between warmth and the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students, however, has not been examined.

The nonverbal cues which communicate personal warmth may differ somewhat across cultures. While smiling, leaning toward, and direct eye contact have been used as cues of personal warmth for white subjects, it seems likely that direct eye contact, which connotes anger and aggression among Indians (Hall, 1969b), might serve rather as a cue of coldness. The present study examined

the influence of those cues of personal warmth which the ethnographic analysis had suggested were central to communicating personal warmth to Indian and Eskimo adolescents -- smiling, close body distance, and mutually seated.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects consisted of fifteen Indian and Eskimo students from small Alaskan villages who were attending a large urban high school. Of this group, nine students were Indian and six were Eskimo. There were nine female and six male students.

Procedures

The students had been given the full Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale by their school counselor, a white female, and a counselor-trainee, a black male. In this initial test, the examiner was seated at a distance of sixty inches from the student and gave the test in a business-like manner. Scores on this initial test served as a pre-test measure of performance under neutral conditions. While it would have been more desirable to have achieved a better controlled pre-test situation, this procedure was used in order to avoid repeated testing of Native students who had already received numerous tests in their school program.

Students were randomly assigned to the nonverbal cold and nonverbal warm groups and retested on two subtests about three weeks later by the counselor-trainee. The retesting was explained to students as a reliability study. The subtests selected were the Digit-Symbol, which is a learning task within the experimental situation, where acquisition might be influenced by the personal warmth of the examiner, and Information, where learning occurred outside the experimental situation but where response productivity might be influenced by personal warmth. Performance on Digit-Symbol subtest has been found to be especially influenced by examiner warmth (Exner, 1966; Crow, 1964).

In the nonverbal warmth condition, the examiner sat thirty inches away from the subject (chest-to-chest), which Hall (1969a) defines as a personal distance, generating a kinesthetic sense of closeness. The examiner and the subject sat at right angles, a postural stance which connotes more of cooperative than competitive interaction (Sommer, 1965). The examiner also smiled as he gave the test. In the nonverbal cold condition, the examiner was eighty inches from the subject, which Hall (1969a) defines as the distance at which

impersonal business occurs. The examiner stood while the subject was seated, a stance which, at this distance, has a domineering effect (Hall, 1969a). The examiner did not smile as he gave the test.

RESULTS

Change scores were analyzed by the Mann-Whitney U test since the sample was small and it was not clear whether the statistical assumptions of the test could be met. As Table 4 indicates, on the Digit-Symbol subtest, six of the seven subjects achieved higher scores when retested in the warm condition. In the cold condition, three of the eight subjects lost points while four remained the same and one gained points. The difference between change scores is significant at the .014 level.

As Table 5 indicates, on the Information subtest, five of the seven subjects gained points while one lost points and one remained the same when retested in the nonverbal warmth condition. In the nonverbal cold condition, five of the eight subjects lost points while two remained the same and one gained points. This difference in change scores is significant at the .027 level.

In view of the small sample, this study should be regarded as exploratory. In addition, since the procedure of the experiment was to follow a neutral condition by a warm or cold condition, it is not possible to generalize to instances of warmth of coldness alone rather than as warmth or coldness following neutral treatment.[5] These results, however, do support the other research suggesting that nonverbal communication of personal warmth increases the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo students.

CONCLUSIONS

A better understanding of the importance of warmth and the ways in which warmth is communicated, especially among different cultural groups, may enable teachers to create a more favorable classroom situation. Nonverbal methods of expressing warmth may be especially important among Indian and Eskimo students, who tend to have strong egalitarian values, since use of such subtle channels avoids drawing attention to individuals.

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[6] I am indebted to Dr. Robert Rosenthal for making this point.

TABLE 4

CHANGE SCORES OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS
ON DIGIT SYMBOL SUBTEST

MANN-WHITNEY U TEST ANALYSIS

Nonverbal Warmth Group	Initial Score	Re-test Score	Change
1	6	9	+3
2	9	11	+2
3	10	11	+1
4	8	11	+3
5	9	9	0
6	11	12	+1
7	8	11	+3
Nonverbal Cold Group			
1	10	10	0
2	11	10	-1
3	7	13	+6
4	12	12	0
5	9	8	-1
6	10	10	0
7	15	14	-1
8	10	10	0

U = 9

$p < .014$

TABLE 5

CHANGE SCORES OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO STUDENTS
OF INFORMATION SUBTEST

MANN-WHITNEY U TEST ANALYSIS

Nonverbal Warmth Group	Initial Score	Re-test Score	Change
1	8	11	+3
2	8	11	+3
3	13	11	-2
4	19	19	0
5	6	10	+4
6	10	11	+1
7	10	11	+1
Nonverbal Cold Group			
1	8	8	0
2	12	9	-3
3	14	13	-1
4	8	8	0
5	14	17	+3
6	7	5	-2
7	16	15	-1
8	10	7	-3

$U = 10.5$

$p < .027$

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